

/107 cont./

123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his finca /see the glossary, p. 249/ he has about 2,000 coffee trees, whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez. During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services.

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[439] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for [437] it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought [434] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He regarded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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291 made between the clothing of the married and the unmarried.

302 The men's hair is cut "semilong" with scissors, so that they have a cut midway between bobbed hair and a modern, shaped cut. Women wear their hair long and combed toward the back, to some extent in the form of a part. Older girls and [412] married women plait their hair in braids. Only the modern, purchased combs are used for combing. The men do not groom their beards, which are sparse to begin with, but from youth on-ward pull out the beard hair with the fingers.

301 No ornaments of any kind are worn by the men nowadays.
 • 439 Two hundred years ago they wore nose rings (zomp) "like the oxen" (Castillo i Orosco, p. 89). The women today wear /126/ purchased pendant-ornaments only to a very slight extent, the white glass-bead chains (wáca = bead) being relatively the most common (Ill. 148 /see p. 265/). The traders are Sibundoy or similar fellow-tribesmen from the southern part of the country, where chains of this kind are worn by the pound by men and women as pendant ornaments. Earrings consist either of a few purchased beads strung on a thread or of a purchased silver pendant. Anyone may wear purchased brass finger-rings; it is not a sign of being married. In earlier times it is possible that there were arm rings, as is shown by Castillo's term kaseñand-gnue-tsa for "arm ring."

3. Economy

433 The first impression that one has of the Paez from an economic standpoint is that of a democratic farming people firmly rooted in their soil, and during an initial consideration of their food and way of life it appears as though they have never been anything but agriculturalists. In the case of primitive peoples, however, we must distinguish between the principal means of production and the original means of production. The former is usually not hard to recognize, whereas the question of the original means of production of a people can be answered

/140 cont./

231/ Since the only purpose of keeping horses among the Paez
 • 439 is to have as large a number as possible, it is understandable
 that they place importance above all on the possession of mares.
 The birth of a filly is therefore a great joy and everyone would
 be happy to trade a grown stallion for a filly, "because it again
 gives foals." Unfortunately this exchange takes place only all
 too rarely, because the colonists are not interested in the de-
 generate horses of the Calderun. It is different with cows (kulá;
 steer = toló, heifer = novflya). Here the /141/ Calderun breed
 (black mottled "Holstein" and brown cattle) is healthier and
 usually also stronger than the cattle of the colonists. Moreover,
 on account of the somewhat cooler climate, their bodies are
 almost completely free of ticks and vermin, in contrast to the
 cows belonging to the inhabitants of lower altitudes, normally
 231/ crawling with larvae and maggots. Unlike horse meat, beef is
 [262] eaten, but milk is never drunk, "since the Calderun never have
 [272] the cows milked." The breeding goal here, too, is the greatest
 possible number. Thus it would never happen that a cow or calf
 would be slaughtered. I could not learn of any preference for a
 particular color, for example, black-white or brown-white, or
 uniformly all black or white or brown. All are liked equally well
 [431] by the Paez, since only the number is important. There is no
 special attachment between a person and his livestock, for no
 one gives away livestock, either as a birthday, christening, or
 [552] wedding present. Special names or designations for livestock or
 pet names are not used.

233 About half the total number of Calderun cattle and horses
 422 graze on the pastures of community land. This means about 40
 231 horses and 60 cattle. The figure shows that only a small num-
 [554] ber of Calderun families own a cow or a horse. The proportion
 becomes even less favorable when one learns that there are three
 rich families who own about ten to 20 head of cattle and horses
 each. The other half of the large stock, as well as sheep, pigs,
 and small stock, remain near the houses and seek their fodder there.
 [241] They may also forage in the uncultivated fields of neighbors;
 they are prevented by the fences from breaking into the cultivated
 fields.

/143 cont./

- 224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [122] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a healing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one [752] must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured [757] limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (mōno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on • [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gělyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gělyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let themselves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 224 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 776 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gělyómp 515 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure 783 and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [296] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, [824] they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs sū and śayuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/161 cont./

286 show the same design, but rather one that results from the cross-
53/ ing of the twisted warp threads.

g) Dyeing

386 The Paez feel that black is the most beautiful color.

824 Hence almost all the home-woven garments of the men and
[822] women are dyed black, and only rarely does one see articles of
clothing in the yellowish-white natural color of sheep wool.
[462] Dyeing is women's work and is done with certain plants, which,
however, dye only the animal material used in weaving, but
[294] not that from plants. This peculiarity of the dyes is utilized
by the Paez to make patterns in their clothing by weaving into
the sheep-wool fabrics a few cotton warp threads, which, in
the subsequent dyeing, retain their original color.

Every woman is in a position to dye her home-woven fabrics
black. To do this the pieces of fabric are boiled in a pot for
about two hours, along with the leaves of the yal tree or the
zôte tree (according to Hernandez, 1946, p. 944, with the
leaves of a *Phyllanthus*) and then buried for two days and two
nights with these leaves in a pit in black, rich humus earth
(ašaktič). Then they are taken out again, washed thoroughly,
and allowed to dry. The black dye is now lightfast and water-
proof. The cotton ornamental stripes in the women's clothing,
which are not affected by this dyeing process, are either natural
[283] in color, red, or green. They are bought by the women in the
desired color, since cotton is not spun by the Paez.

386 The threads of different colors used to make the coca bags
824 and the women's belts were originally all dyed by the Paez
177 women with vegetable dyes. Today this is done only in part,
● [439] for anyone who has the money buys aniline dyes at the market
in Inzá or Belalcázar; they are more popular because of their
stronger coloring and greater luminosity. Similarly, the cotton
purchased in thread already dyed is more popular for making
women's belts, since it is brighter or more brilliant.

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
[22] the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
[29] whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[43] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they
then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send
their children far away and do not let them go to the whites,
because they believe that the latter would catch them in order
to make powder from them.

224 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.

[23] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[283] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes),
while two, one over the other, are used for the larger fire-
crackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which
consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long,
filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three
parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo
splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the fire-
cracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle
and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among
the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
[44] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since
there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying
trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[43] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-
contained household economy predominates, and whatever one
family does not have it barter for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial
products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held
regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary
articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades,
machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

/164 cont. /

- 439 cloth for trousers, and all European clothing. Furthermore, every type of ornament must be bought, such as necklaces, earrings, and finger rings, then cotton, since it is finer and shinier than sheep wool, and aniline dyes for dyeing women's belts and coca bags, since they are more brilliant and clearer than the native vegetable dyes. The trip to market and the necessary trade, however, are not undertaken because of an inclination for business, pleasure in bargaining or in under-bidding or outbidding, but out of the necessity to procure an [48] article that they cannot make themselves. If it is at all [797] possible, one tries to buy the required things in the village, for example, from the missionaries, and the purchase with money or the trip to market is, so to speak, the ultima ratio. 437 They do not bargain. The man -- /165/ and it is almost always he who shops -- asks the price, and if it seems too high -- 439 as in most cases -- he says "too expensive." If the tradesman [462] lowers the price, he usually buys; if not, he goes on to the next stand.

The traders are never Paez, but always white and mestizo colonists. They know, of course, about the disinclination of the Paez to bargain, and they charge too high a price to begin with, so as to ask a still inflated normal price after the obligatory "too expensive." Thus the Paez are naturally cheated. They let themselves be too easily dazzled by an attractive display or packaging, for example, by the polish or the silver paper; also a more expensive green or red comb is preferred over a black one. Fortunately, one might say, they never have much money and can therefore never spend too much.

- 126 The way in which I was obliged to acquire the women's 439 colored belts for our collection is characteristic. Since every woman possesses only two at the most, one to fasten her skirt and the other to carry her baby, any attempt to buy them was [01] always useless. I had therefore bought at the market in Inzá a few women's belts which are made by the Guambiano, the tribe neighboring the Paez on the west, and are sold in Inzá. [184] They are made of cotton, the white color of which in the freshly

/165 cont./

126 worked state is considerably more brilliant than the somewhat
439 yellowish sheep wool. Moreover, their aniline dyes gleam much
184 more brightly than the vegetable dyestuffs of the Paez dyes.

126 Unfortunately, they are shorter than the Paez belts. Neverthe-
439 less, the trade was most happily made. The coca pouches of
437 our collection, too, we acquired entirely by way of barter, for
example, for a pair of scissors at the Bogotá price of 50 centavos.
At the market in Inzá such a pair costs about a peso. The Paez
know this. Nevertheless, the same persons who had previously
refused a sale for five pesos exchanged a pouch for a pair of
scissors. It was the same with eggs. They would not sell them
for 20 centavos, but traded them for a wax candle which was
available everywhere for five centavos.

43 In the case of their own products, there is no trade from
village to village. Nor is there any exchange of certain special-
ties outside the village, since the initiative for special achieve-
ments or the unusual always comes from the colonists or foreign
traders. In general the Paez do not buy and sell among them-
selves, but only barter, since money is used very unwillingly
among them. Their idea that an article sold, /166/ for example,
an egg, may bring misfortune to the part retained, in this case
the chicken, may play a role in this. Moreover, even today
paper money is scarcely ever accepted, first because they usu-
ally do not have a special pocketbook, but put the bills in their
coca pouch, where they may be easily torn, and, secondly, be-
cause many are in the habit of burying their money or hiding it
somewhere. In this way the bills soon become moldy, whereas
hard money lasts a long time. The latter is therefore extremely
rare in the entire Tierradentro area.

435 In the barter of foodstuffs there are certain rates that every-
437 body knows. Since, furthermore, they always make an effort to
furnish only satisfactory goods, there are no exaggerated claims
or any reason for bargaining or haggling. It is simply: either-or,
especially since market phenomena have no effects, and the
barter rates are in no way increased in times of shortage or want.
Thus, at the time of my visit, sheep and therefore wool were very

/167 cont./

435 Livestock can be exchanged for other livestock or for food-
437 stuffs. For example, a stallion has the value of 20 pounds of
coca leaves or a man's ruana; a mare, however, is much dearer
and is exchanged for the maize harvest of a field about 100
square meters in area, to be harvested by the buyer himself.
Similarly, one can exchange the harvest of a maize field for
a steer or a heifer. (The latter has a monetary value of 30 to
40 pesos.) The exchange or sale of a cow, on the other hand,
is not possible under any circumstances. Pigs have the rela-
tively low value of only three to five pesos; they are exchanged
for five pounds of coca, ten bags of maize, or ten tomfn of sugar
cane. One may also exchange a small sow or a full-grown hog
for a steer. The latter has the value of about 15 pesos, a mare
about 20 to 30 pesos. Stallions are gladly exchanged for a foal.
They are valued at 15 pesos. Whereas the exchange of a stallion
for a cow is impossible because of the latter's higher value,
stallions are often exchanged for bulls, especially by hosts who
need beef to feed their guests.

It is significant that a head of cattle or a horse cannot be
exchanged for quickly consumed foodstuffs, such as maize,
arracacha, beans, potatoes, bananas, etc., since the latter do
not last long enough and the buyer of the foodstuffs feels that he
will not get sufficient use out of his exchange. On the other
hand, coca leaves still on the tree, maize on the stalk, or a
sugar cane field are quite possible as media of exchange.

[185] Victoriano, for example, exchanged for a foal a sugar cane field
about 50 by 50 meters in area, which the new owner may harvest
as needed. Such an exchange, however, is possible only for
persons who are as industrious as Victoriano. In general the Paez
is much too disinclined to work for a future supply, especially
if he is not even to have the use of it later on; besides, he is
much too fond of drinking his own chicha to give away a two-year
old sugar cane field.

439 The goods are transported to the market by men and women,
482 albeit more by the former than by women. This seems quite
484 surprising, for the civilized Indios, as well as many colonists,
are in the habit of riding to market unencumbered by any load,

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484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
● 439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the
Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes, arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
[415] the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
484 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
461 for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work,
[285] which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/177 cont./

¹⁰⁰ the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, 589 solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or 591 friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

594 The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him 425 absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

594 The children are given the family name of the father, but [553] the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There [551] is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for [585] unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to [291] work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she [302] may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth [425] beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for [439] ornaments.

596 If the young people are still living in the house with their 606 parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

581 Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; 684 in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so [623] seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

848 Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case 623 an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

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Harvesting yuca, cabbage,
beans, gourds

Harvesting sugar cane

Hunting

Fishing at the weir

Gathering wild honey

Preparing food

Making chicha and brandy

~~Housebuilding~~

Making fire with flint and steel

Fetchng firewood

Fetchng water

Carrying loads on marches

Making weapons

Making plaited hats

Making hammocks

Making rope

Making musical instruments

Making fireworks

Making bird nets

Making children's toys

Making clay vessels

Making fiber bags

Making coca bags

Making wax candles

Men

Women

Children

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[439]

Ornaments

(bought)

(bought)

Weaving, plait-weaving

Dyeing

Washing women's clothes and
the men's woven clothesWashing the home-sewn men's
trousers

Mending woven clothing

Mending men's trousers

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The genuine Paez music is performed by a group of musicians whose instruments consist of a larger or smaller number of transverse flutes, a bass drum /Pauke/, a drum /Trommel/, a tambourine, and a triangle (Ill. 202 /see p. 289/). The number of flutes varies between five and 15. Tambourine and triangle

- [439] (Cingalo) may be lacking. The latter is always purchased, as in general is the tambourine (pandereta), covered with skin on one side and provided with tin jingles.

Judging by its name, the transverse flute (koi) is a Paez instrument. There has not yet been an investigation of the distribution or culture-historical age of this type of flute in America; in the Old World it is certainly younger than the long flute and the Pan flute (Sachs, p. 147). Among the /289/ Paez it is 65 centimeters long and about 2.5 centimeters in diameter. It is made from a type of reed which is also known as koi and which only grows in the mountains. Its manufacture is specialist's work. In Calderas Vicente Puche is at present the only producer. A flute can be made only from the pattern of another one, which, however, is not a model flute expressly for the construction of others; rather, it is any one that Vicente happens to have at his disposal. For example, he promptly sold to me his only instrument at the time. To make a new one, he said, he would borrow a flute from a neighbor.

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The tube of the flute is cylindrical and without knots. The seal on the side of the blowhole is made by means of a piece of expressed sugar cane, which is pushed a few centimeters into the flute. The six finger-holes are not placed at equal intervals from one another. The first is 25 centimeters from the blowhole, the second finger-hole is 4.2 centimeters from the first, the third 4.5 centimeters from the second, the fourth 4.2 centimeters from the third, the fifth 3.8 centimeters from the fourth, and the sixth 4 centimeters from the fifth.

The seven very sharp-edged holes of the flute have the same diameter. They are burned in with an iron tube (barflya) of the same dimension and heated red-hot. Their position and their intervals are taken from a flute held alongside and are marked

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● 439



III. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

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III. 2. The market of Inzá.

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164 cient testimony, they have their share of physical ailments. Besides itch (*lél*), tumors of several kinds (*lól-sék*, tonsilitis; *koi*, tumor in the groin), they have original names for smallpox (*buzgñé*), which I was told often rages among them, for diarrhoea (*n-thiñ*), dysentery (*mengñé*), and intermittent or malarial fevers (*ya-ya-gñé* in the ancient dialect, *kñé-kñé-né* in that spoken at the present day).

757 Of the practices and superstitions made use of in the cure of
114 these diseases I could gain no information, but it is very probable that the Paez still have their own medicine-men.

CLOTHING. PERSONAL ADORNMENT

291 At present the wool obtained from the numerous sheep kept
286 by the Paez Indians plays the most important part in the cloth-
[231] ing of both sexes. I cannot find any direct information on the fabrics used before the introduction of sheep by the Spaniards, but it is most likely that the Paez obtained cotton from the Indians of the Cauca and Magdalena plains, the cultivation and the manufacture of which into thread must have formed one of the principal industries in the latter. I have already referred to the great number of clay spindle-whorls found in the graves and on old dwelling sites throughout the Cauca valley. Judging by these we may feel sure that the former inhabitants were great spinners. On the other hand, the present Paez Indians still weave most of their own clothing, and there is no reason why they should not have done so formerly.

291 The dress of the men consists of a pair of short trousers (*hiñ*),
[177] that are evidently a concession to modern civilization. These are made of raw cotton cloth, or of imported fabrics, and reach from the waist to about the knees. Over the shoulders is worn a broad rectangular piece of white woolen homespun cloth, split in the middle in the form of a poncho so as to allow the head to pass through, and hanging free front and back. This is called *tund-atñ*, i. e., 'the cloth that binds, or covers.' It is generally worn next to the skin, but sometimes a light cotton shirt, called *atñ-petñ*, is first put on. Over the *tund-atñ* they carry on their left
[276] side, hanging by straps that pass over the right shoulder, the coca

(c3). It is very little cultivated in Tierra Adentro, however, and the dry leaves are imported from the lower Paez and Tolima basins. To this product the Paez is indebted for his disgusting chewing and spitting habit, the use of which is still doubtful to me. Coca leaves are said to be a powerful reconstituent, allowing the Indians to endure long marches and great privation. But the women do not use it, and however often they may participate in these hardships, it is with the same endurance. At all events the Paez men never cease chewing and spitting. Each of them carries a supply of coca leaves in his *uisa*, and the quicklime or *knetan* in a small gourd, both hanging at his left side. Now and then he ejects a mouthful of green saliva, making sure that there be a clean whitewashed wall near by, in order thus to decorate it. He then takes a new handful of leaves, sprinkles them with a little *knetan*, and fills his mouth again, ceasing this everlasting process only long enough to eat, drink, and sleep. 276
[249]
[439]●
[461]

Tobacco is known in Tierra Adentro under the name of *unui-li*, but it is never smoked or chewed. The sugar-cane, *unsa*, is cultivated in small patches. The only textile plant observed by me is a short-leaved agave called *sasto* (Span. *maguey*). The larger part of the district inhabited by the Paez is above the region in which grows the bamboo called *gnadua*; but this beautiful grass is known to them under the name of *moni*, or *munu*. They transport canes of it from a distance for use in the construction of their lighter bridges; and at Huila, about 1,800 meters above sea-level, there was a small plantation of it, showing a primitive attempt at cultivation. 249
[248]
245

Several useful plants have been mentioned in connection with dyeing (page 318). Although in the Huila mountains there is at least one species of rubber-yielding *Sapinum*, the Indians do not seem to have known of the elastic properties of its gum.

A most striking feature of the upper forest zone of the Palo valley is the wax-palm, *lámé* (*Ceroxylum andicola*), which is also for the Indians an important economic plant on account of the wax which they obtain by scraping the lofty trunks (plate ix). This product they use mainly for illuminating purposes. Un- 314

/284 cont./

132 gives rise to cold local winds that blow through the valley of the Páez, affecting chiefly the areas of Vitoncó, Suin, Chinas, San José, Mosoco, and also the parcialidad /a territorial division/ of Calderas itself. The variation in temperature is noticeable in these zones sometimes having hot days and very cold nights. Nebulosity is almost constant, especially in the northern zones.

241. Economy. --The topographic and climatic characteristics permit the cultivation of various plants, such as maize, beans, bananas, sugar cane, yuca, arracacha, and gourds in the temperate zones, and in the cold ones potatoes, maize, ullucos, [433] beans, gourds, and cabbage. The produce barely leaves a [439] surplus for trade with the parcialidades and urban centers of [438] Belalcázar, Inzá, and Valencia. The potato crops of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José serve for an active trade with the Paez of the western slope of the cordillera, across the Páramo de Moras.

433 Coffee and the production of panela are important lines
245 in the economy of the colonists and also of numerous groups
249 of acculturated natives. The coffee of Tierradentro is con-
177 sidered one of the best in the country, owing to the quality
and mildness of the bean.

23/ /285/ The raising of livestock flourishes among the civilized
437 groups. For the natives it serves for maintaining a barter
trade with their neighbors, the white and mestizo colonists.

31/ On the whole, native production is relatively scant,
433 giving rise to times of "hambruna" /ravenous hunger/ when
[731] the summers or winters are rather harsh. The workable land
lies in the small plains and valleys of rivers and streams, on
the alluvial terraces, and on the plateaus. Comparing the
size of Tierradentro with that of its arable land, the latter
appears scant, a problem that is aggravated by the increase in
population and the habitual burning.

101 Population. --Tierradentro is the country of the Paez,
36/ who at the time of the Conquest were settled to the north of

/199 cont./

- 388 Up to a few years ago, the extraction of laurel wax was the
43 only industry among the Calderas people that brought them
monetary returns. And it was the sole article of active trading
with the whites. At first the price was good; one peso a pound;
nowadays it is barely worth 40 centavos. Thus, there is no
388 market for this article. The fiesteros and the albaceros have
chunks of wax in their chambers. The laborers melt it in a
copper pan and pour it at once into bamboo tubes, mixed with
hot water so that it will not solidify at once. Into it they dip
the notched wicks of different lengths so as to saturate them
with wax, then bring them out into the air so that they will
harden, saturate them once more with wax, and continue in
this way until the candle has acquired the desired thickness.
Several dozen are made; some large ones for the table, others
of medium size for the church, and smaller ones for the
mayordomos.

X

Gunpowder

- 389 The Paez are totally unfamiliar with the method of making
829 gunpowder. And to explain how it is obtained, they tell the
648 painful legend that it is made from human beings. It comes
from a fat man; they say, fattened expressly for this purpose.
He is hung up, a red-hot iron rod is inserted in his rectum;
lard drips down; and this lard is the gunpowder. For this reason,
they do not want to send their children to distant lands where
the white man lives. They believe that they would be used
to obtain gunpowder. "The white men greatly desire Indians
in order to obtain gunpowder."
389 The Indians buy gunpowder in the urban centers. They
● 439 work it up. The technique is almost universally known.

/203 cont./

534 Some natives own and play guitars acquired in Popayán,
237 but there are some that they make themselves out of armadillo
● 439 shells.

533 The following are the compositions of ceremonial type
which are not accompanied by dancing.

/204/ /Illustration appears here./

Kulá ik kui (bull-slaughter-piece). Musical composition
which is played at the moment of killing the beef to which
the albacero and the laborers of the fiestero will be taken care
of. Informants claim that this musical piece has no significance
other than to entertain the people.

Plaza pá kui, a musical composition played when the
musicians reach the church.

Misa kase kui, played when the Mass is over.

Chichi pékue kui, played when the meat is cut in pieces
to treat the albacero. The workers place the chunks of meat
on a trunk and cut them into small pieces with a machete
/peinilla/.

There are other compositions peculiar to wedding cere-
monies.

/205/ Novio mesa úku, played at the start of the wedding
meal.

Úpiate kui, played halfway through the nuptial banquet.

Tunzi kamba kui, played at the close of the nuptial
banquet.

All of these compositions are melodious and in 3/4 or 4/4
time.

The religious fiestas, mingas, weddings, and baptisms
are occasions for music. There is no music at burials or at wakes
for children.

[868] Musical compositions are learned from the "elders" out
of personal interest. From childhood they learn how to play
the bass drum, the side drum, and the triangle with great
skill. They try the flute later. While rhythm instruments

/291/

The Economy of the Paez

by

Segundo Bernal Villa

/Page 292 is blank. /

/293/ General observations

433 Products of the soil make up the substantive part of the Páez economy. The Indians are barely familiar with a few manual arts practiced on very rare occasions. Hunting and gathering are quite secondary, and fishing even more so. Livestock-raising, while being an activity worthy of notice for its development, and for being, in addition, the essence of the native conception of wealth, serves more for carrying out disadvantageous barter transactions with the mestizo and white populations than for deriving a profit either in cash or in kind. The Páez economy is thus a direct one, devoid of intermediaries in the functions of production and consumption. The family consumes what it produces. The articles of consumption that are acquired are few. Essentially [439] they are salt, tools, cooking utensils, and clothing. On the other hand, the products that are sold are few: coffee, laurel wax, potatoes, garlic, and coca. It should be noted that the increase in some of these products is of recent date. Páez production merely provisions and seldom leaves a surplus to maintain regular trade. Foresight for times of scarcity exists, but it is neither sufficient nor organized.

221 Working the land conditions the daily activities of the Páez family. It might be said that the vital cycles are subordinated to the agricultural cycles. Basically, the year is divided into the months of the preparation of the soil and the months of the harvest, [166] including the protection of the crops in season. They devote the [464] months that fall between the extremes of this economic cycle to minor manual activities or they emigrate to hire out as day laborers

/299 cont. /

245 year. Traders in Silvia sell the crops at up to 14 pesos an arroba.
●[439] Lame produces perhaps the best peaches, but they are not suitable for export because they are easily damaged. There are also numerous plantings in Tumbichukue and Calderas, although they do not have much care.

247 Floriculture does not exist among the Páez, and they cannot understand the labor that the "whites" invest in their gardens. They are always of the opinion that food plants should be sown on such lands.

241 Among the cultivated plants, they regard as native maize ("the /300/ Pijao had maize"), the hartón /large-sized/ plantain ("the Pijao also had it"), frijoles, mejicano /squash, Cucurbita pepo/, cabbages, and the cane "criolla" /Creole, native/, while coca, they say, seems rather to have come from the "whites."

241 Species cultivated and zones of cultivation

137 Here is a list of the food plants cultivated by the Páez (5):

192

[128] 5. We thank the Herbario Nacional Colombiano, especially Dr. Jesús M. Idrobo, for the scientific identification of the plants.

/302-cont./

241

433

Crop	Planted	Harvested	Successive Harvests
Arracacha	Any month	In 2 years	Continuous
Sweet potato	Any month	In 6 months	Continuous
Coca	March-April	In 1 year	Every 3 months
Onion	Any month	In 2 months	Continuous
Garlic	Feb. -April	In 4 months	Cut every 6-8 months
Cane	April-May	In 2 years	
Coffee	March-April	In 3 years	2 harvests per year

Manioc, arracacha, sweet potatoes, plantains, onions, and cabbages are harvested throughout the year and in any month.

/303/ Coffee is harvested during the months of October and November (principal harvest) and in May and June (mid-year harvest).

• [439] In Calderas (Tumbichukue, Lame, El Cuartel, La Troja, and Vitoncó), they harvest peaches chiefly during the months of February and March. Although they consume this fruit, the major part is intended for sale.

In the parcialidades of temperate climate, they consume, though not systematically, the fruits: avocado, orange, guava, and star apple.

In the parcialidad of Mosoco and toward the first half of the year, they harvest potatoes, maize, frijoles, broad beans, barley, wheat, and ullucos. The harvest begins with frijoles and immediately continues with maize, broad beans, potatoes, wheat, and barley, ending with the harvest of ullucos, which is done in the month of August.

The harvests of potatoes, nasturtium tubers, and ullucos of the first half of the year are done with splendid results in the "paramo," a mountainous region that merges into the savannas of the Paramo de Moras. This area, conquered in

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the té eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not ex-
tensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they
serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for in-
dividual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo
is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens
or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry
belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before
the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally
obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its
expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and uni-
versal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of culti-
vation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient
and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee

245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by

● [439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the
natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future

245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At

harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to
pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume
considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not
yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

MOSOCO

Farms.	Maize				Wheat			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
243 1.*	120	120	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
433 2.	60	60	...	.....	15	...	15	100.0
439 3.	20	20	...	.....	10	6	4	60.0
503 4.	44	39	5	11.3	12	4	8	66.6
5.	18	18	...	.....	10	1.5	8.5	85.0
6.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	5	5	...	.....	53	8	45	84.9
8.	20	20	...	.....	10	...	10	100.0
9.	20	20	...	.....	45	...	45	100.0
10.	24	24	...	.....	15	15	...	.....
11.	3	3	...	.....	6	4	2	33.3
12.	8	8	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
13.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
14.	23	23	...	.....	6	6	...	.....
15.	20	20	...	.....	20	5	15	75.0
16.	16	15	...	.....	20	10	10	50.0
17.	12	12	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	24	24	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	25	23	2	8.0	9	9	...	.....
20.	16	16	...	.....	25	5	20	80.0
21.	12	12	...	.....	40	16	24	60.0
22.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	12	12	...	.....	45	4	41	91.1
24.	16	16	...	.....	20	4	16	80.0
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	25	25	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	8	8	...	.....	3	3(2)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	35	35	...	.....	20	...	20	100.0
6.	20	20	...	.....	5	..(2)	5	100.0
7.	20	20	...	.....	2	2(2)	...	.....
8.	50	50	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

2. Loss of the harvest.

MOSOCO

Farms.	Broad Beans				Garlic			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1. 244	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2. 433	5	5	...	.....	9	...	9	100,0
3. 439	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4. 563	8	7	1	12,5	...	...	...	.....
5.	2	2	...	.....	1,5	0,5	1	66,6
6.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	1	1	...	.....	3	1	2	66,6
8.	1	1	...	.....	6	2	4	66,6
9.	8	8	...	.....	12	...	12	100,0
10.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	1	1	...	.....	5	2	3	60,0
12.	1	1	...	.....	6	1	5	83,3
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	2	2	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
18.	5	5	...	.....	15	3	12	80,0
19.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
20.	5	5	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	3	3	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	...	...	...	.....	2	2	...	.....
24.	...	...	...	.....	10	2	8	80,0
25.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	(3)
5.	...	...	...	.....	2,5	...	2,5	100,0
6.	16	16	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

3. This informant is white; his sole activity is trading.

6: Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO								
Fams.				Nasturtium				
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
244 1.	30	30	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
433 2.	20	20	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
●439 3.	...	...	...	.....	5	5	...	.....
563 4.	3	3	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
8.	15	15	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
10.	8	8	...	.....	20	20	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
12.	10	10	...	.....	10	10	...	.....
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14.	40	40	...	.....	40	40	...	.....
15.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
16.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
17.	...	...	...	.....	1	1	...	.....
18.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
19.	30	14	16	53.3	...	...	...	.....
20.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
21.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
22.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
23.	15	15	1	...	20	20	...	.....
24.	16	12	4	25.0	...	...	...	.....
25.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

LAME

1.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	25	15	10	40.0	25	17	8	32.0
7.	4	4	...	.....	5	...	5	100.0
8.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

6: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SC15 Paez SC15

MOSOCO

Farms.	Frijoles			%	Potatoes			
	A	C	V		A	C	V	%
244 1.*	6	6	...	.....	(1)			
433 2.	15	15	1	.....				
439 3.	...	...	...	.....				
563 4.	6	...	6	100,0				
5. ....	...	...	...	.....				
6. ....	...	...	...	.....				
7. ....	...	...	...	.....				
8. ....	...	...	...	.....				
9. ....	...	...	...	.....				
10. ....	...	...	...	.....				
11. ....	...	...	...	.....				
12. ....	...	...	...	.....				
13. ....	...	...	...	.....				
14. ....	...	...	...	.....				
15. ....	...	...	...	.....				
16. ....	...	...	...	.....				
17. ....	...	...	...	.....				
18. 5	5	...	...	.....				
19. 1	1	...	...	.....				
20. 4	4	...	...	.....				
21. ....	...	...	...	.....				
22. 6	6	...	...	.....				
23. ....	...	...	...	.....				
24. ....	...	...	...	.....				
25.* ....	...	...	...	.....				

LAME

1.*	...	(3)	...	.....	70	...	70	100,0
2.	8	8	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	(3)	...	.....
4.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
6.	8	...	8	100,0	50	30	30	60,0
7.	1	1	...	.....	18	...	18	100,0
8.	10	10	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

Note: A, indicates the arrobas produced; C, arrobas consumed; V, arrobas sold; and %, the percentage sold. /The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

1. The potato production is itemized in a separate table.

2. Loss of the harvest.

SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Coffee		Plantains				
	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	80	...	80	100,0	300(1)	...	...
2.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
3.	3	...	3	100,0	300(2)	...	...
4.	1	...	1	100,0	50(1)	...	...
5.	15	...	15	100,0	120	118	1,6
6.	3	...	3	100,0	300	290	...
7.	3(5)	...	3	100,0	100(1)	...	...
8.	4	...	4	100,0	50(1)	...	...
9.	5	...	5	100,0	150(4)	...	...
10.*	80	...	80	100,0	30(1)	...	...
11.	45	...	45	100,0	...	...	...
12.	...(5)	...	...	100	50	50	50,0
13.	...(5)	...	...	300	100	200	66,6
14.*	6	...	6	100,0	250(1)	...	...
15.*	8	...	8	100,0	100(1)	...	...

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

1. Number of plantain plantings that the informant has now.

2. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

4. Indicates the number of plantings at present. Last year he gathered about 30 bunches.

5. Tenant farmer.

SAN ANDRES

243
244
433
● 439
563

Fams.	Maize				Manioc			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1. * 50	50	...	...	.....	200	160	40	20,0
2. 29	24	5	...	17,2	64	53	11	17,1
3. 9	9	...	...	.....	25	25	...	.....
4. 80	80	...	...	.....	30	30	...	.....
5. 3	3	...	...	.....	85	85	...	.....
6. 30	30	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7. 2	2	...	...	.....	100	100	...	.....
8. 12	12	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
9. 50	40	10	...	20,0	60	35	25	41,6
10. *...	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11. ...	...	...	...	.....	60(3)	35	25	41,6
12. 8(3)	8	...	...	.....	50	25	25	50,0
13. 14	4	10	...	71,4	150	75	75	50,0
14. *...	...	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....
15. * 40	40	...	...	.....	500(6)	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

3. Personal estimate of the author.

6. Informant's estimate of the future

harvest.

SAN ANDRES

Fams.	Sugar Cane				Arracacha			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1. *	500	...	500	100,0	40	20	20	50,0
2.	...	...	...	.....	20	11	8	40,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	4	4	...	.....
4.	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
5.	20	...	20	100,0	4	4	...	.....
6.	(7)	...	...	.....	25(3)	...	...	.....
7.	(7)	...	...	.....	17	17	1	.....
8.	(7)	...	...	.....	15(3)	...	...	.....
9.	(7)	...	...	.....	20	10	10	50,0
10. *	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
11.	40	...	40	100,0	20	10	10	50,0
12.	(7)	...	...	.....	18	9	9	50,0
13.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
14. *	(7)	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15. *	100	...	100	100,0	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English.

3. Personal estimate of the author.

7. Owns plantings of sugar cane.

Fams.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1. * 4	4	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2. ...	...	...	...		5	4	1	20.0
3. ...	...	...	...		...	...	...	
4. ...	...	...	...		3	3	...	.....
5. ...	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
6. ...	...	...	...	(8)	3	3	...	.....
7. ...	...	...	...	(8)	1	1	...	.....
8. ...	...	...	...	(8)	8	8	...	.....
9. ...	...	...	...	(8)	20	10	10	50.0
10.	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
11. ...	...	...	...	(8)	...	...	...	.....
12. ...	...	...	...		3	3	...	.....
13. 6	3	4	...	66.6	5	1	4	80.0
14.	...	...	...		...	...	...	
15.	...	...	...		...	...	...	

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English. /

8. Owns plantings of coca.

241
433

From the above table we can make the following deductions:

- [245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale.
[434] It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income
[439] for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."
2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.
- [262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize, plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee
[276] harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably
[273] complement this dietary regimen.

/320 cont./

231 chickens were not lacking. But it was impossible to obtain trust-
 124 worthy information about this wealth. A mestizo trader very
 familiar with the region estimates that in Calderas there must
 be no fewer than about 350 head of cattle, a figure that is well
 [162] deserving of credit. This parcialidad has approximately 150
 families. In the statistical table that we present, below 55
 families are represented, for many of which the data are incom-
 plete and others have an approximate value, deduced from in-
 formation by third parties and from direct observation. The
 statistical tables for the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San
 Andrés correspond to reality.

233 Lands intended exclusively for pasture do not exist, with
 [311] the exception of that which, on account of its rugged topography
 and deforestation, covered with grasses that become green again
 in winter, cannot be used for anything except for pasture, with
 the risk, of course, that the animals might wander away. In
 general the animals graze in the stubble, in the communal
 pastures, in the shade of the brush and thickets. In Calderas, for
 example, most of the livestock is hidden from strangers' eyes.
 They eat the branches and grasses that grow on lands that were
 once fields. In this way they grow wild and shy, but fat and exempt
 from disease. To catch these animals is equivalent to going on
 a real hunting expedition in that trained dogs participate, and
 10 or 15 men outfitted with their respective lassos and suitably
 distributed in especially good places for lassoing, detaining, de-
 flecting, or directing the progress of the animal being chased by
 the dogs. This work is done preferably on Sundays, at the spe-
 cial invitation of the cattleowners, either to brand the calves
 or to catch a cow intended for trade, sale, or slaughter. When
 the work is done, a good amount of chicha is consumed. Only
 the livestock that grazes on the communal llano is visible to
 strangers and relatively tame.

232 Everyone prefers females for reproduction. The males
 ● 439 are consumed, sold, or traded for young females and, rarely, for
 231 other articles. Often there is a lack of breeding bulls. In such
 cases the cows do not calve and are regarded as sterile, a fact
 that is duly exploited by the white and mestizo traders in order to
 propose 'trades'.

/320 cont./

231 propose "trades." Traders who are interested in a cow, once
 ● 439 they have located the true /321/ owner, assail him with proposi-
 tions for a trade. They offer young, fertile heifers, smaller
 in size and usually thin. In exchange, they obtain a large and
 231 fat cow. The profits are more than 200%. Before handing over
 439 the animal, the native invariably requests a bottle of aguardiente
 789 and pulls out a few hairs from the left eye or lower leg of the cow
 [712] as an offering to the Duende /ghost/, the virtual owner of the
 lands and animals and potentially the protector of their multi-
 plication. Likewise he blows chayuts (Scutellaria racemosa Per.)
 on the rope with which the cow will be led, so that it will not
 create difficulties along the way. There are frequent statements
 by whites and mestizos, cattle traders, to the effect that, when
 this requisite was not met, the cow stopped halfway on the
 journey and could not be budged by any human power. Then it
 sufficed to blow at the rope with chayuts to make her move again.
 How can this be explained? The persons relating the story re-
 peatedly ask.

231 Occasions for the consumption of cattle are mingas, re-
 262 ligious fiestas, and, on a small scale, the post-matrimonial and
 [796] baptismal "cuidos" (courtesies for the sponsors). The meat and
 [527] the skin are both used. The latter is not tanned, but dried in
 [281] the sun and used as a sort of mattress for sleeping. The milk is
 [234] not used. When they sacrifice a head of cattle that comes from
 262 "wild" places, such as bogs, lagoons, or montañas, they take the
 792 precaution of calling the Té eu. He orders them to take a small
 756 piece from each organ and to put a little blood on a reed. He
 231 wraps all this in a leaf, puts a sprig of contento (chayuts) on top
 of it, then goes toward the east, and, in a spot determined by
 him, leaves the bundle, taking care always to put it to the left
 of things such as trunks or rocks. This placement does not have
 any special ceremony associated with it; it is not accompanied
 by prayers or the blowing of medicines, and it does not take
 place at a specific time. It is an offering to the Duende which
 is performed before consuming the meat, the primary purpose
 of which is to please him.

/334 cont./

3/2 water abounds during the rainy season. Then the stream beds, dry during the summer (ravines), swell disproportionately. During the summer months, the scarcity of water is still a serious problem.

3/3 In areas where water is scarce, there is also a scarcity of firewood, owing to the intensive deforestation. As the felling of the trees moves out from the populated centers of Tierradentro, the acquisition of this item becomes increasingly difficult. The fuel problem in Belalcázar, Cuetando, Chitoquez, Valencia, [314] and Guasdalejo is becoming increasingly serious. Furthermore, [439] charcoal is neither used nor produced for trade in Tierradentro.

[312] [462] Providing firewood for feeding the hearth, as well as water, is more an activity for women and children than for men. In most of the parcialidades, firewood abounds, and ordinarily each dwelling has sufficient reserves to maintain the fire on the hearth. In cold parcialidades, such as Calderas and Lame, reviving the fire through the night is essential for protection [513] against the cold. The natives sleep around the hearth, from which comes the warmth that they need for sleeping, since they use no covering other than the clothing on their own bodies and no mattress other than a hard cowhide.

376 The abundance of water also facilitates the construction of
258 hydraulic mills, in order to utilize this motive force. They are relatively numerous.

Property

423 The lands of the native communities are protected. That is to say, they belong to the parcialidad. They are inalienable. In addition, they are exempt from taxes. This peculiarity of our legislation has fortunately permitted the preservation of the [311] Paez group and their culture. The lands contained within the parcialidades are uncultivated, usable, /335/ or in use. The uncultivated lands of the communities of Tierradentro are rapidly being colonized.

In each parcialidad there is a specific amount of land that belongs to all the members of the community. It is communal
land.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

● 439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have
gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell
chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small
market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and
traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza
an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to
sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold.
The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small
amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee,
and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites."
Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound
portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a
few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[648] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and
often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites,"
as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the
settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles
(coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can
pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdalejo
(Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and
Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with
La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume
of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

/355 cont./

443 of the municipio and even from Calderas flock to the market
 438 in Belalcázar. Itinerant peddlers are numerous in Tierradentro,
 439 and several of them walk through the parcialidades offering their
 wares. The articles that they sell are few. Traders also travel
 through the parcialidades, chiefly to acquire cattle that bring
 them handsome profits. But there are also those who go from
 439 house to house to buy agricultural produce. A trader from
 426 Mosoco, mestizo, bilingual, boasts of his friendship with the
 natives and of the trips that he took, up to about four years ago,
 through Suin, Chinas, Calderas, Avirama, and Lame, dis-
 tributing ("showering") advance money for maize, frioles,
 laurel wax, saffron, and cattle. "A debt with Indians is never
 lost," he states categorically, to emphasize the Indians' honesty.
 At harvest time he returned to collect the products bought and he
 took them directly to Silvia. He also says that from San Andrés
 he took from 100 to 200 arrobas of panela each month to sell
 in Mosoco. Lately, owing to the impassable condition of the
 Inzá roads, he has given up this business.

443 The parcialidad of Mosoco, and in general the entire
 438 hydrographic valley of the Moras River, which contains the
 439 parcialidades of San José, Mosoco, Vitoncó, Lame, Suin, and
 Chinas, trades with the municipio /356/ of Silvia, located on
 the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agri-
 cultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley,
 peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the
 prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to
 Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia
 they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs,
 and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of
 woolen rebozos (rebozos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold
 earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for
 their trousers, and shirts.

443 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
 (476) tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors
 take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast
 to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of

/358 cont. /

434 [121] There were 48 families investigated, of which 25 were from Mosoco, 8 from Lame, and 15 from San Andrés. They are identified by numbers in order.

The sources of monetary income are provided by agriculture, especially by potatoes, wheat, garlic, and coffee; by livestock-raising, that is to say, the sale of animals, including derivatives such as milk and cheeses, as well as barnyard fowl; by business transactions, including the resale of agricultural and livestock products produced by the natives; by daily wages, including some contract work; by crafts, which include manufactures (blankets, rugs, sashes, pouches, sewing, ceramics, and tile-making) and hydraulic mills; by freightage, that is to say, the profit from renting beasts of burden; by the previous year's savings; and by loans.

[427] At first sight agriculture stands out as the principal source of family income, corresponding specifically to potatoes, wheat, and garlic for Mosoco, laurel wax and potatoes for Lame, and coffee for San Andrés. But in the parcialidad of Mosoco livestock is not merely complementary, but as important as agriculture itself. Even more so. In nine of the 25 families investigated, livestock-raising balances the family budget, which the deficit was due to the loss of harvests. We also observed that the renting of beasts of burden is an important factor in the family income; an incipient development of family industry that represents sources of monetary income; and, finally, the income from daily wages in the parcialidad is rather limited. In the parcialidades of Lame and San Andrés, on the other hand, livestock-raising occupies a secondary position, and the family income is complemented, when agriculture produces an imbalance, chiefly by day labor.

434 563 Trade is primarily an activity of the "whites," and so are industries of elaboration such as panela and cheese. In regard to [439] trade we found one case of a "white" family established in a parcialidad, whose only source of income through life has been nothing but the profits from trade.

/362 cont. /

571 The articles of clothing most in demand are trousers, shirts,
 438 hats, underwear, rebozos, and sashes (Mosoco), large shawls
 ● 439 /pañolones/ (Lame and San Andrés), and smocks for the children.
 [301] Ponchos are also purchased with some frequency. In Mosoco,
 [323] gold earrings are ornaments appreciated by the women, in contrast to other parcialidades where gold is /363/ regarded as taboo. The natives wear no sandals or shoes. It should also be noted that the women's skirts are not purchased, but made at home; while in Mosoco the purchase of the reboso de Castilla /Spanish shawl/ is quite frequent and a sign of elegance, in the other parcialidades
 511 they buy pañolones. If we compare the figures for food and clothing, the percentage of the income devoted to the former in Mosoco, with two exceptions, is higher than that devoted to clothing. In Lame, and especially in San Andrés, the percentages for food and clothing tend to be the same, and often the latter is higher than the former. The phenomenon is not strange if we bear in mind that in these two parcialidades cultivation is more for internal consumption than for sale. As for "Amusements," although various expenses have been included among them, they refer basically to expenses for the fancy for alcoholic and fermented beverages. Naturally, the expenses are necessarily higher, as we shall see later. As for lighting, in spite of the fact that in San Andrés and Lame it is made out of wild laurel wax, stearic candles are also purchased, and in Mosoco they are always
 511 purchased. Soap is purchased by all the natives. In the column
 454 showing the part for savings we note that only six of the 48 families
 [434] investigated have no figures for it. And in order to make a few deductions, we have made an analysis of the incomes of the 48 families studied:

2 [see p. 93 for this table -- Analyst]

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of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar. 252 [272]

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor. 415 251 [353] [825]

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds. 264 [276] [273]

They cultivate pepper (aji) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring Pijao. Sometimes he permitted other Páez to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses. 317 263 [244] [439] [648]

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each Páez and Moguez family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185). 342 [361] 177 342

SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

[B. A. R. BOLL. 143]

944

286
[386] blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

[531] They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

411
[824] Weapons.—For weapons, the *Pdez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones
[171] thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Pdez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives.
[172] In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

[223] Today the *Pdez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

354
[372] Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded
[177] by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

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824
[388] Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Pdez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

438
● 439 Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit
[435] of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a
[804] chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in
[273] cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguez*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (*parcialidades*), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Eamisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálagá*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the *Páez* River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was *Taravira*. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Eamisa. In the third group, *Avirama* was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (*cacicado*) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, top, left). Each family had its own house located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, *Tálagá*, *Avirama*, *Togoima* (formerly *Toboima*), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of *Tieradentro* is divided politically into two *municipios*—*Páez* or *Belalcázar* and *Inzá*—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (*cabildos*, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The *cabildo* is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and *síndico*, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The *cabildo*, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a *cabildo* hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

441

441 MERCANTILE BUSINESS--extent of specialization in commerce; types and distribution of mercantile businesses; social status and special characteristics of merchants; business men's organizations (e.g., merchant guilds, trade associations, chambers of commerce); general characteristics of merchandising; special mercantile privileges and restrictions; etc. See also:

Urban commercial facilities.	368	Competition	477
Occupational specialization	463	Business schools	874
Craft guilds.	467		

/163 cont./

389 The powder, however, must be bought. As for its production,
[22] the general opinion is that it is made from human beings. The
[29] whites, they believe, fatten human beings, then hang them,
[43] and, while they are still alive, tap their fat, from which they
then make powder. That is why the Paez do not like to send
their children far away and do not let them go to the whites,
because they believe that the latter would catch them in order
to make powder from them.

824 /164/ To make the fireworks a piece of sheep gut is used,
389 filled with powder and wound tightly with an agave string.
[23] The latter is waxed with beeswax for extra strength. One of
[28] these powder cases is used for the smaller firecrackers (koétes),
while two, one over the other, are used for the larger fire-
crackers (kwatón), and under these is placed the fuse, which
consists of a small bamboo tube, one to five centimeters long,
filled with powder (Fig. 32 /see p. 256 /). These two or three
parts are wrapped in a maize leaf and fastened to a bamboo
splice 20-60 centimeters long. When it is lighted, the fire-
cracker rises to a height of 50 meters with a considerable whistle
and then explodes.

5. Trade and Transportation

438 One cannot speak of trade in the commercial sense among
the Paez, for they trade almost solely among themselves and
● [44] abhor everything that has to do with business. Moreover, since
there is no merchant class among them, there is no carrying
trade. Merchants are regarded as do-nothings who, though they
[43] are needed, are nevertheless despised. Fundamentally the self-
contained household economy predominates, and whatever one
family does not have it barter for within the same village if
439 possible. Only when this is not possible, thus when industrial
products are involved, does one go to the weekly market held
regularly at Inzá or Belalcázar, in order to buy the necessary
articles. These include, above all, salt, as well as spades,
machetes, aluminum pots, knives, scissors, spoons, needles,

443

- 443 RETAIL MARKETING**--extent and variety of retail specialization; types of retail outlets (e.g., itinerant merchants, markets, bazaars, general stores, trading posts, specialty shops, chain stores, department stores, mail-order houses); pricing (e.g., fixed, variable); services to customers (e.g., deliveries); specialized personnel (e.g., sales clerks); etc. See also:
- | | | | |
|--|-----|---------------------------------------|-----|
| Business organization | 47 | Accounting methods | 481 |
| Description of business structures | 347 | Extension of credit | 483 |
| Upkeep of store buildings | 388 | Employer-employee relations | 488 |
| Trading centers | 388 | | |

1: Nachtigall--259 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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XVII

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III. 1. La Plata, the southern trade center of Tierradentro.

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III. 2. The market of Inzá.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

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 the western slopes of the Central Cordillera. All of the agri-
 cultural production goes there: potatoes, maize, wheat, barley,
 peaches, garlic, broad beans, and ullucos. Only when the
 prices of agricultural produce are low in Silvia, do they go to
 Belalcázar and Valencia. But this rarely happens. From Silvia
 they bring, in exchange, all their tools, their clothing, drugs,
 and housewares. The Mosoco women are the chief buyers of
 woolen rebozos (rebozos de Castilla), showy necklaces, gold
 earrings, and hairpins; the men, of fine cloth hats, fabric for
 their trousers, and shirts.

437 The riding paths in that area are surprisingly well main-
 (476) tained. Each year, in the summertime, all of the neighbors
 take charge of needed repairs, and they are an obvious contrast
 to the riding paths of the municipio of Inzá. The people of